

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 03397 01 OF 04 011632Z

44

ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 AID-05 EB-07 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 STR-04 OMB-01

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6832

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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PAGE 02 BONN 03397 01 OF 04 011632Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 03397

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, PFOR, US, GW

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: THE FRG

REF: STATE 37591

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE FRG'S INTEREST IN MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY WILL REMAIN AT A HIGH LEVEL, BUT IT WILL BE DIRECTED PRIMARILY TOWARD EUROPEAN AND NATO ISSUES. INCREASING COHESION OF EC FOREIGN POLICY AT THE UN WILL BE A MAJOR THEME. THE FRG'S PARTICIPATION IN THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE WILL TAKE PLACE PRIMARILY IN THE MULTILATERAL CONTEXT, BUT FRG WILL CONTINUE TO USE BILATERAL DIPLOMACY TO REINFORCE ITS MULTILATERAL OBJECTIVES. IN MOST CASES, FRG INTERESTS IN NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES AND OTHER MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY ITEMS PARALLEL THOSE OF USG. THIS MEANS FRG WILL USUALLY SUPPORT USG, SUBJECT ON OCCASION TO DESIRE FOR ACHIEVING COMMON FRONT WITH THE EC PARTNERS, PARTICULARLY FRANCE. THE FRG WILL CONTINUE TO BE RECEPTIVE TO REPRESENTATIONS BY THE US ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES, BUT THE DESIRE FOR UNANIMITY WITHIN THE EC MAY OCCASIONALLY WATER DOWN THE FRG'S IDENTIFICATION WITH THE US, WHICH REMAINS A PRIMARY GOAL OF FRG POLICY. END SUMMARY.

1. THE FOLLOWING EMBASSY COMMENTS ARE KEYED TO THE QUESTIONS IN PARA 7 OF REFTEL.

A. PRIMARY MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES IN 1976

2. THE THRUST OF FRG MULTILATERAL POLICY WILL REMAIN REGIONAL RATHER THAN GLOBAL. AS THE STRONGEST AND CLOSEST ALLY OF THE US, WHOSE BASIC ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INSTINCTS ARE CLOSE TO OUR OWN, THE FRG WILL CONTINUE TO ATTEMPT TO MAXIMIZE ITS AGREEMENT AND CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 03397 01 OF 04 011632Z

IDENTIFICATION WITH THE USG IN THE MULTILATERAL FIELD. AS THE COUNTRY WHICH STILL FEELS MOST DEEPLY THE SCARS OF WORLD WAR II, ESPECIALLY WITH RESPECT TO ITS CONTINUED DIVISION FROM THE GDR, THE FRG REMAINS FULLY COMMITTED TO SEEKING SUPPORT FOR ITS SECURITY AND WELL-BEING FROM THE US, CANADA AND ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES.

3. AS A MAJOR ECONOMIC WORLD POWER, THE FRG IS

INCREASINGLY CONCERNED WITH WORLD ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES (IN THAT ORDER). IT WISHES TO BE RESPONSIVE TO THE DESIRES OF THE THIRD WORLD WITHOUT, AT THE SAME TIME, ACCEPTING DEMANDS FOR A DIRIGISTIC SYSTEM OF WORLD TRADE OR A MAJOR INCREASE IN THE TRANSFER OF RESOURCES. IT IS COMMITTED TO DEALING WITH THIRD WORLD DEMANDS IN THE MULTILATERAL CONTEXT, WHERE IT WANTS TO USE ESTABLISHED MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS (IMF, GATT, OECD, ETC.), WHILE PRESERVING THEIR ESSENTIAL CHARACTER. THE FRG HAS VIGOROUSLY REINFORCED ITS MULTILATERAL GOALS WITH BILATERAL APPROACHES TO THE THIRD WORLD, E.G., VISITS BY SCHMIDT, GENSCHER, FRIDERICH AND WISCHNEWSKI. THE FRG WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO.

4. THESE BROAD GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY GOALS FOR 1976 AND BEYOND WILL BE CARRIED OUT PRIMARILY IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS: IN NATO, THE FRG WILL RELY ON THE LEADERSHIP OF THE US TO MAKE THE ALLIANCE AN ACTIVE AND

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PAGE 01 BONN 03397 02 OF 04 011908Z

44

ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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PAGE 02 BONN 03397 02 OF 04 011908Z

AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 BONN 03397

EFFECTIVE ORGAN OF DEFENSE AND DETENTE. AT THE SAME TIME, IT WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE AN IMPRESSIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRENGTH OF THE ALLIANCE, A CONTRIBUTION WHICH WILL, HOWEVER, BE LIMITED BY COMPETING DEMANDS FOR DOMESTIC RESOURCES AND THE REALITIES OF EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS GERMANY. IN 1976 THE FRG WILL REMAIN AN ACTIVE AND KEY PARTICIPANT IN MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS CONDUCTED BY NATO, SUCH AS MBFR, WHERE IT WILL CONTINUE TO STRIVE FOR AN AGREEMENT WITHIN ALLIANCE NEGOTIATING GUIDELINES WHICH WILL LEAD TO UNDIMINISHED SECURITY AT LOWERED FORCE LEVELS. IN THE EC, THE FRG WILL CONTINUE IN 1976 TO PROMOTE PARTNERSHIP AND REDUCE AREAS OF FRICTION BETWEEN THE EC AND THE US. IT WILL ALSO STRIVE TO HARMONIZE THE FOREIGN POLICY OF EC MEMBERS, ESPECIALLY IN SUCH FORA AS THE UN. THE FRG HAS BECOME ONE OF THE FOREMOST PROPONENTS OF THE EFFORT TO EXTEND COMMON EC FOREIGN POLICIES BEYOND THE BORDERS OF EUROPE. THE FRG WILL ALSO PURSUE ITS MULTILATERAL GOALS VIA: A) CLOSE COORDINATION IN OECD FAMILY (IEA AND HLG'S) TO BACKSTOP CIEC COMMISSION WORK; B) IMF, TO ASSURE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE KINGSTON AGREEMENT (THIS

INCLUDES CONTINUED HIGH LEVEL FRG CONTACT WITH USG AND GOF OFFICIALDOM); AND C) IAEA AND SUPPLIERS AGREEMENT ON NUCLEAR ISSUES SUCH AS TRILATERAL AND TRANSFER OF SENSITIVE TECHNOLOGY.

5. IN ADDITION TO THE ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS, AT THE UN THE FRG -- AS A LEADING MEMBER OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED WEST -- WILL TRY TO SUPPORT WHAT IT DEEMS TO BE THE LEGITIMATE DESIRES OF THE THIRD WORLD, WHILE IT WILL RESIST PRESSURE TO CORRUPT OR DOWNGRADE INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF CONDUCT. THE FRG WILL TRY TO SATISFY ACCEPTABLE THIRD WORLD DEMANDS IN OTHER FORA -- GATT, CIEC, IBRD. IN 1976, THE FRG WILL BE READY TO STAND UP AND BE COUNTED WITH THE USG ON THOSE ISSUES WHERE
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BONN 03397 02 OF 04 011908Z

ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE PERCEIVED TO PARALLEL OURS (THIS IS MORE OFTEN THE CASE THAN NOT.). ON THOSE INTERESTS WHICH IT DOES NOT CONSIDER VITAL -- AND THIS DEFINITION WILL PROBABLY INCLUDE SOME ISSUES WHICH ARE REGARDED AS VITAL BY THE USG -- THE FRG WILL SEEK TO ACCOMMODATE THE INTERESTS OF THE THIRD WORLD OR MINIMIZE ITS OPPOSITION BY ABSTAINING RATHER THAN VOTING AGAINST. THE FRG IS PARTICULARLY KEEN TO ACHIEVE COHESION OF EC FOREIGN POLICY IN THE UN, WHERE IT WILL BE ESPECIALLY CAREFUL TO CONSULT WITH OTHER EC MEMBERS TO ACHIEVE A COMMON FRONT. HERE THERE IS A PROBABILITY THAT ON SOME ISSUES IDENTIFICATION WITH THE US WILL BE SACRIFICED IN THE NAME OF EC UNITY.

6. THE FRG HAS AN ABIDING INTEREST IN QUESTIONS OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. A SPECIAL SECTION IN THE FONOFF IS DEDICATED TO THIS WORK. SINCE JOINING THE CCD IN 1975, THE FRG HAS PLAYED A CONSTRUCTIVE, LOW-KEY ROLE GENERALLY SUPPORTIVE OF US ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVES. THE GERMANS ALSO SHARE US CONCERNS ABOUT THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, HAVING ACCEDED TO THE NPT-AND PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS' GUIDELINES IN 1975.

7. THE FRG'S DESIRE FOR MEMBERSHIP IN MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS HAS LARGELY BEEN MET SINCE IT ACHIEVED FULL MEMBERSHIP IN THE UN IN 1973. IT IS ACCORDED MEMBERSHIP IN MOST MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS BY VIRTUE OF ITS ECONOMIC WEIGHT AND OVERALL IMPORTANCE. BY THE SAME TOKEN, THE FRG WILL PARTICIPATE IN ANY NEW MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS OR CONFERENCES WHICH IT BELIEVES WILL AFFECT ITS INTERESTS, ALTHOUGH THE FRG HAS NO ENTHUSIASM FOR CREATING SUCH GROUPS BECAUSE OF

THEIR COST. TO AN INCREASING DEGREE, THE FRG WILL WANT
TO BE REPRESENTED BY THE EC (WITNESS CIEC), OR WILL
LOOK TO THE EC TO DEEPEN CONTACTS WITH OTHER MULTI-
LATERAL ORGANIZATIONS (SEE ASEAN). THIS LAST
CONSIDERATION IS PARTICULARLY RELEVANT TO ISSUES
CONCERNING WHICH THE FRG PREFERS TO BE MERELY A MEMBER
OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED WEST IN DEALING WITH THE THIRD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BONN 03397 02 OF 04 011908Z

WORLD, AND WHERE GERMAN INTERESTS ARE NOT AS FUNDAMENTAL
AS THEY ARE IN EUROPE OR IN ITS ALLIANCE WITH THE US.

8. AS NOTED ABOVE, THE FRG HAS OBTAINED REPRESENTATION
IN MOST MULTILATERAL BODIES IN WHICH IT DESIRES IT. IT
CAN BE EXPECTED TO PRESS ITS CANDIDATES IN
ACCORDANCE WITH ESTABLISHED SCHEDULES AS WORKED OUT BY

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 03397 03 OF 04 011912Z

44

ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 AID-05 EB-07 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 STR-04 OMB-01

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R 011521Z MAR 76
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 03397 03 OF 04 011912Z

AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 BONN 03397

SUCH GROUPS AS THE WEO (AS IN THE CASE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR 1977-1978). IT HAS REACTED WITH PRIDE TO THE ELECTION OF A GERMAN TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE AT THE HAGUE FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE BEFORE WORLD WAR II. IT WILL EXPECT TO MAINTAIN ITS REPRESENTATION ON GOVERNING BODIES OF VARIOUS MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS WHEN IT PERCEIVES ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS AT STAKE.

B. EFFECT OF OTHER COUNTRIES OR ORGANIZATIONS ON FRG
POLICY MAKING

9. THE US UNQUESTIONABLY HAS THE GREATEST EFFECT ON FRG POLICY IN THE MULTILATERAL CONTEXT AND THIS SITUATION WILL CONTINUE IN 1976. THE PARIS-BONN TIE, DEEPENED BY PERSONAL AND WORKING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SCHMIDT AND GISCARD, IS ANOTHER MAJOR INFLUENCE ON FRG MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY. THE EC AND ITS OTHER MEMBERS ALSO HAVE A CONTINUOUS EFFECT AS THE FRG TRIES TO HAMMER OUT COMMON FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS IN THE POLITICAL COOPERATION MECHANISM.

10. THE FRG IS ALSO TRYING TO STRENGTHEN THE POSITION OF THE MODERATE NATIONS IN THE THIRD WORLD AND INCREASE ITS BILATERAL TIES (PRIMARILY ECONOMIC) WITH CERTAIN KEY THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES, SUCH AS BRAZIL, IRAN, OTHER OPEC STATES AND CHINA. SUCH COUNTRIES MAY INFLUENCE FRG POLICY ON SPECIFIC ISSUES.

11. THE FRG'S SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL WILL CAUSE IT TO DEFEND THAT COUNTRY'S INTEREST WHEN ITS SECURITY AND CONTINUED EXISTENCE ARE THREATENED (SUCH AS DURING THE DEBATE OVER THE ZIONISM ISSUE). AT THE SAME TIME, THE FRG'S DEPENDENCE ON IMPORTED OIL AND ITS DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE ARAB WORLD, PRINCIPALLY THROUGH THE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 03397 03 OF 04 011912Z

EC MEDITERRANEAN POLICY AND THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE, WILL KEEP THE FRG SENSITIVE TO THE ARAB POSITION ON THOSE ISSUES TO WHICH THE ARABS ATTACH IMPORTANCE. THERE IS OCCASIONALLY A CONFLICT IN THE FRG'S PURSUIT OF THESE INTERESTS -- E.G., STRONG USG REACTION TO THE FRG-BRAZIL NUCLEAR DEAL, AND TO THE PROPOSED PREFERENTIAL EC ARRANGEMENT WITH IRAN. THE USG MADE ITS WEIGHT FELT ON BOTH ISSUES.

C. INSTRUCTIONS TO AND CONTROL OVER DELEGATIONS

12. THE FRG FULLY INSTRUCTS ITS DELEGATIONS TO MAJOR INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS. IT ALSO GENERALLY GIVES THEM FLEXIBILITY TO MEET TACTICAL SITUATIONS. THIS FLEXIBILITY OFTEN EXTENDS TO THE POINT OF ALLOWING DELEGATIONS TO ABSTAIN INSTEAD OF VOTING NO WHEN THE US PREFERS A NO VOTE. MOST OF THE REPRESENTATIONS THE EMBASSY CARRIES OUT WITH THE FONOFF DURING UN DEBATES AND MEETINGS FALL INTO THIS GRAY ZONE, AND THE FONOFF IS LOATHE TO REVERSE JUDGEMENTS MADE ON THE SPOT BY ITS DELEGATIONS. THE FRG MAINTAINS EXCELLENT COMMUNICATIONS WITH ITS DELEGATIONS WHICH ARE SUFFICIENT TO MAKE REPORTING TIMELY AND EFFECTIVE, BUT RECOGNIZES THAT THE BEST OF COMMUNICATIONS CANNOT REPLACE SOME DEGREE OF JUDGEMENT AND FLEXIBILITY ON THEIR PART.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 BONN 03397 04 OF 04 011916Z

44

ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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PAGE 02 BONN 03397 04 OF 04 011916Z

AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 BONN 03397

D. INDEPENDENT POLITICAL POWER OF PERM REPS OR
DELEGATES

13. THE FRG'S REPRESENTATIVES ARE FULLY SUBJECT TO
GOVERNMENT CONTROL -- THE FONOFF OR, IN THE CASE OF
SPECIALIZED DELEGATIONS, THEIR RESPECTIVE MINISTRIES.
AS NOTED ABOVE, THE FRG GENERALLY LEAVES THEM SOME
DISCRETION ON TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS. THERE
ARE OCCASIONAL MAVERICK DELEGATES -- E.G., EGON BAHR --
WHO DO NOT FOLLOW BUREAUCRATIC INSTRUCTIONS TO THE
LETTER. BAHR IN TWO CASES LAST YEAR REVERSED
FRG INSTRUCTIONS AFTER TALKS WITH THE CHANCELLOR.

E. RECEPTIVITY TO REPRESENTATIONS BY THE US

14. THE EMBASSY HAS A RUNNING DIALOGUE WITH THE FONOFF
AND OTHER MINISTRIES. WE ARE LISTENED TO AND RECEIVED
AT WHATEVER LEVEL WE REQUEST. WHILE THIS INTERACTION
IS A TWO-WAY STREET, THE EMBASSY MAKES REPRESENTATIONS
TO THE FRG MORE OFTEN THAT IT RECEIVES FRG REQUESTS FOR
SUPPORT. TO A GREAT EXTENT, USG SUCCESS IN PERSUADING
OTHER EC CAPITALS WILL REINFORCE BASIC FRG WILLINGNESS
TO SUPPORT US WHEREVER POSSIBLE.

14. ONE RECURRING THEME ON WHICH THE FRG SEEKS THE
SUPPORT OF THE US (ALONG WITH THAT OF THE UK AND
FRANCE) IS THE RIGHT TO INCLUDE BERLINERS ON FRG
DELEGATIONS OR, IN SOME INSTANCES, TO HAVE OFFICIALS
FROM FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS LOCATED IN WEST BERLIN HEAD
FRG DELEGATIONS. SOVIET AND EAST GERMAN OBJECTIONS
WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE THIS A DISRUPTIVE ISSUE IN
MULTILATERAL FORA.
HILLENBRAND

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